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The life of Herman Glogowski, "one of the best known men of Florida," ended tragically on December 3, 1909. The buggy in which he was riding collided with a truck at an Ybor City street corner, as the former Tampa mayor and leading civic booster was showing a visiting salesman around the city. Tampa's response to Glogowski's death illustrated the high regard in which the city held its leading citizen. The United States flag atop City Hall flew at half mast as a funeral procession six blocks long carried the casket from his home to the Jewish cemetery. Mounted police, Masons, city officials riding in carriages, firemen in uniform, and friends and family accompanied the hearse.[1]

The demonstration of respect and outpouring of sadness at Glogowski's death stemmed from the significant contribution that this ambitious and talented German-Jewish immigrant had made to Tampa's growth and success. A self-made man in a struggling town, Glogowski realized that business success for himself and his neighbors rested with the city's fortunes. As mayor on four occasions between 1886 and 1893, he instrumentally aided Tampa's emergence by 1900 as Florida's leading manufacturing center. Glogowski promoted private investment and development, campaigned for public works and sanitation improvements, and tried to ensure fiscal responsibility in city government. Tampans responded to his message. He possessed business acumen and personal vitality, and, once he had proved himself in office, voters elected him time and again. Being a Jewish man in a Christian country did not detract from his political appeal or ability to deliver results. Under Mayor Glogowski's program of urban boosterism, Tampa grew from a "sleepy, shabby southern town" of 720 people in 1880 to nearly 16,000 in 1900.[2]

Tampa's rapid ascent in the nineteenth century's last decades was not unique to the New South, nor were the experiences and leadership roles played by Jewish settlers in promoting the

development of southern urban centers. Throughout the South cities underwent tremendous expansion after the Civil War, largely the result of railway construction. Between 1880 and 1910 Birmingham, El Paso, Roanoke, Jacksonville, and Tampa witnessed demographic explosions. These southern cities--and others with more modest growth--were home to prosperous and civic-minded Jewish merchants who held visions for the future. Jacksonville and El Paso elected Jewish mayors before the First World War, and the southern port cities of Alexandria and Norfolk, Wilmington, Savannah, Pensacola, Mobile, New Orleans, and Galveston called upon Jews to serve as their chief executives. A study of Herman Glogowski's life permits, not only an exploration of the contributions of Jews to Florida's rich cultural history, but also of the common experience of Jewish merchants in America, the nature of southern urbanization, and the role of Jewish leaders in the city-building process.[3]

Glogowski was born on April 29, 1854, in Wilhelmsbruck, Germany, where by his own admission he received "a fair education."[4] At fifteen he arrived in America. His decision to emigrate likely stemmed from the repressive conditions affecting Jews in the German states. Restrictions on residence, mobility, and landownership forced them to cluster in select urban areas where they engaged primarily in commercial pursuits. Jews were confined to irregular or distressed trades such as old clothes, junk, pawnbroking, peddling, and money lending. Since laws ordinarily prevented them from keeping regular shops, they had to seek out customers or else trade illegally from their homes. Even more debilitating for the survival of German Jewry than geographic and economic restrictions was the Matrikel. This list, kept by local officials, enumerated those Jews allowed to live in the village or town and prohibited others from settling. To further suppress Jewish population growth, the Matrikel restricted the right of Jews to marry and start a family. Like the other 200,000 German Jews who left Europe between 1830 and 1880, Herman Glogowski and his family realized that he had no future in Germany. As he was still a boy, Glogowski's relatives surely paid for his passage to America.[5]

Upon his 1869 arrival in New York, Glogowski likely was met by family or friends who had emigrated earlier. These chains of migration played an important role in the decision to

leave the Old World and eased initial adjustment into the New World. A place to live, a first job, and lessons in the English language and American customs most often came from a relative or friend who had experienced these traumatic initial months.[6] We know little of Glogowski's first years in the United States, although family lore has it that he worked as a candy maker in New York City until an explosion burned him with chocolate and he took up a safer profession. His later activities will shed some further light on this period.[7]

In the late 1870s Glogowski settled in Gainesville, Florida. Though the reasons for his move are unclear, he may have been drawn by to the area by railroad development and related economic growth. He worked for a time as the head clerk in G. W. Sparkman's general merchandise store before setting out on his own. For a short period he operated a dry goods, clothing, and footwear establishment with local businessman Julius Stark. In December 1880 the partners dissolved the concern by mutual consent, and Glogowski took in J. B. Vanlandingham as a junior partner. Vanlandingham, too, had worked for Sparkman. In printing a notice for the new firm of Herman & Company, a local newspaper commented that Glogowski was "too well known to our patrons for us to attempt any comment upon his merits and qualifications as a businessman."[8]

Glogowski's transition from clerk to respected dry goods merchant paralleled the experience of many Jewish men in the South. With little expertise in noncommercial occupations, German Jews arrived in the United States intent on making their way in the retail or wholesale trade. Most began as peddlers, selling from a cart on the street or carrying their wares around the countryside. Low overhead, a high rate of profit, and an invaluable education in American customs enabled many men eventually to open a store. In some small southern towns, a Jewish businessman operated the only dry goods or clothing store for miles. In larger urban centers, Jewish merchants comprised the majority of shops for certain commodities. Urban residents, small farmers, and planters came to count on the Jewish shopkeeper for a wide variety of personal and agricultural supplies. Jewish businessmen thus became valued and respected members of the local white community.[9]

Respect for Herman Glogowski within the Gainesville business fraternity spilled over into other areas of life. In December 1880 he achieved election as worshipful master of the city's Free and Accepted Masons. His rise to prominence within the Gainesville chapter suggests that he had established roots in American Masonry before arriving in Florida. The following June he bid for political office in a special election for city alderman, but he lost narrowly. Yet the decision to run for office demonstrates Glogowski's spirit of civic duty and suggests that he believed Gainesville citizenry might want him to serve even though he had resided in the town only for a short time.[10]

The next two years of Glogowski's Gainesville life brought continued success. In September 1882 he purchased a small tract of land and a home. The following summer he married a local Jewish girl, Bertha Brown. Glogowski's choice of a bride and the timing of his marriage conformed with Jewish family patterns in nineteenth-century America. Bertha, the third child of Tobias and Pauline Brown (originally Braun) of Prussia, was twelve years Herman's junior. At age twenty-nine, he had attained the economic success and stability necessary to start a family. The Brown family could rest assured of their daughter's welfare.[11]

The remarkably small number of Jewish residents in Florida in the early 1880s probably had complicated Glogowski's marriage plans. Under 1,000 Jews lived in the state. Although they had established commercial enterprises in a number of towns, only in the late 1870s was the Jewish population of any single locale large enough to support a synagogue. No record exists of a Jewish cemetery in the state until Jacksonville residents established one in 1857. Perhaps the result of a careful introduction, Glogowski came to know one of Gainesville's few single Jewish women. For many immigrant Jews, marrying outside the faith was not a viable option.[12]

Less than a year into their marriage Bertha and Herman left Gainesville for Tampa. The young couple sensed opportunity. In 1882 railroad financier Henry Plant had obtained majority interest in the South Florida Railroad Company, which held a state charter to build from the St. Johns River to the Gulf of Mexico. He sought to construct and control a network of roads crisscrossing Florida and south Georgia and joining with Savannah and Charleston on the

Atlantic. As the system's Gulf terminus, Tampa could greatly expand its existing ocean trade in cattle, fish, and citrus. The town was already a shipping point to Key West, Cuba, and the West Indies. Plant believed railroad connections with the interior would guarantee Tampa a bright future. The Glogowskis wanted to share in the prospects for commercial development.[13]

Even before the Plant line's completion on January 22, 1884, Tampa's economy began to boom, and in just five years--from 1880 to 1885--the town grew from 720 to 2,376 residents. The sudden influx of people created a need for retail stores to supply the growing population. Speculating on the prosperity that the railroad would bring, some individuals purchased land and erected homes and businesses in the days before the line was completed. Other enterprising persons bought entire street blocks for resale at a later date.[14]

The Glogowskis arrived in Tampa during these early stages of the town's exponential growth, and Herman opened a clothing and gentlemen's furnishing goods store where he sold hats, caps, trunks, valises, rubbergoods, and shoes. As late as 1886 Tampa's street directory listed him as the area's only clothing merchant. At least twice a year he traveled to New York City to purchase stock for the upcoming season. Within three years the business had prospered, and in late 1886 he moved to larger quarters at the corner of Washington and Franklin streets. A $1,200 loan from Gainesville coreligionist Moses Endel in May 1885 made this expansion possible. Glogowski used his Gainesville property as collateral. At some point in the mid-1880s he took in his brothers-in-law, Benjamin and Joseph Brown, to work as clerks. By 1890 the Tampa Journal could describe the H. Glogowski clothing house as "old and reliable," with two show windows.[15]

Herman's decisions to ask a fellow Jewish merchant for a loan and to take his wife's brothers into the business reflected common practices among Jewish merchant families in the United States. For a young man starting out in commerce or even a seasoned veteran, a lack of capital seriously limited his opportunities. Northern-based credit agencies such as R. G. Dun and Company held ambivalent views on the worthiness of Jews as credit risks, thereby limiting a Jewish businessman's chances of obtaining the capital required to start up or expand a

commercial operation. Given limited financial resources, relatives and friends were expected to step in with guidance and support. Some families formed business partnerships that endured for generations; others offered loans or temporary employment to a brother or nephew. Although familial obligation partly explains this practice, Jews generally preferred partnerships with each other rather than with Gentiles. In response to uncertain, occasionally hostile, attitudes toward them within the Christian community, business alliances among Jews fostered security and solidarity within a Jewish community and created networks of trust and support that stretched throughout the nation.[16]

Although links to family and fellow Jewish Floridians formed an important component of Glogowski's life, they were not his only associations in Tampa. Like many Jewish merchants throughout the country, Glogowski realized that membership in local fraternal orders and civic organizations offered an excellent opportunity to cultivate cordial business relations and friendships with both Christians and Jews. Clubs that espoused universalism, brotherhood, tolerance, and morality regardless of creed enabled Jewish members to demonstrate their equality and integration into American life. In his new home Herman continued his membership in the Masons and joined a number of other men's and civic clubs. The leadership skills that had elevated him to the position of worshipful master in Gainesville soon became apparent to his brothers in Hillsborough County. He received 32nd degree status within the fraternity and taught Masonry classes to fellow members. In 1886-1888, 1890, 1894, 1899, 1900, and 1903 the chapter elected him as their leader. In 1898 Glogowski also became the first president of the German-American Club. He was a Pythian, an Odd Fellow, and a Knight of Honor in the Jacksonville chapter.[17]

During the mid-1880s and for a number of years thereafter, Herman also served on the Tampa Board of Trade, and in that capacity he contributed the advent of one of his city's great industries. Much of Tampa's success after 1885 resulted directly from the introduction and expansion of cigar manufacturing. Gavino Gutierrez, an importer from New York, arrived in the Gulf town in search of a place to establish a guava processing plant. Although he did not see

much future in guava, Gutierrez liked Tampa a great deal and lauded the location to a number of Havana, Key West, and New York cigar manufacturers. The cigar barons investigated, and members of the Tampa Board of Trade, Glogowski among them, offered various incentives to convince the men to build factories. The board's efforts succeeded. Two plants were completed in early 1886, and more soon followed. With the cigar industry came job opportunities for hundreds of Cubans, Spaniards, and Italians.[18]

If in many respects Herman Glogowski's business career and social affiliations resembled those of thousands of German Jews who immigrated to America, his rise to political power in Tampa placed him among a select group of men. For a man with Glogowski's sense of civic duty and tested success in business, arriving in Tampa during the early months of the town's demographic and economic explosion placed him in an excellent position to seek elected office in 1886. Tampa needed energetic, visionary leaders capable of managing and sustaining the town's growth. Self-made men who had succeeded in the marketplace possessed skills that Tampans desired. These concerns overshadowed any stigma that they might have attached to Jews. In addition, Glogowski's previous Gainesville residence gave him strong credentials as a Floridian and deterred opponents from labeling him as an outsider.[19]

Politician Glogowski's rise began with the August 1886 mayoral election. Days before the polling, the Tampa Guardian described the type of men required for office: "What Tampa needs is a set of enterprising, fearless, and progressive officials; they should be men of sound judgement, uninfluenced and uncontrolled by any interest except that of the public welfare." A candidate for office had to favor public improvements, including water works and a sewage system. The mayor, the paper proclaimed, should be a man of "executive ability; one that will see that the town ordinances are strictly enforced; that will do his duty without fear or favor; a man of broad and liberal views, who will strive to learn what is right and then have the courage to do his duty."[20] When a meeting of forty-five men afterward gathered to nominate a municipal ticket, they selected Herman to serve as their mayor. On August 11 Tampa voters affirmed this choice and voted Glogowski into office.[21]

Tampa's municipal charter restricted Glowgowski's powers as mayor. Councilmen enacted laws for city governance. Transportation, licensing and upkeep of public places, regulations on public behavior, taxation, sewage and water service, plus numerous other aspects pertaining to health and welfare fell to council members. Nonetheless, the mayor held significant authority. With a veto over council legislation and prerogative to nominate city employees, he could influence policy decisions. The mayor did not usually attend council meetings, although he addressed the group to suggest courses of action.[22] Part of the chief executive's primary responsibilities involved enforcing city codes in executive and judicial capacities. As judge of the Mayor's Court, Glogowski heard cases concerning a variety of infractions. The city marshal typically brought before the court a man charged with disorderly conduct, carrying a concealed weapon, or vagrancy, and the mayor pronounced a judgment and sentence. Usually, a conviction resulted in a small. A plethora of cases heard by Mayor Glogowski involved sanitation violations--usually keeping an unclean privy. Enforcement of the sanitation codes underscored Glogowski's commitment to the city's health. Florida's summer heat, standing pools of water, inadequate sewage disposal, and limited understanding about the spread of infectious disease combined to pose an ongoing threat to health. City leaders also realized the negative impact that a reputation for sickliness would have on efforts to attract business investment and settlers. An outbreak of yellow fever shortly after the end of Glogowski's first term resulted in just over 100 deaths and received coverage in the New York Times. This kind of publicity, Tampa did not need.[23]

Pursuant to his interest in health matters, Mayor Glogowski devoted considerable energies during his terms in office to defending Tampans from the ravages of an epidemic by vigorously campaigning for improvements in waste management and water quality. As ex-officio president of the board of health in 1886-1887, his words carried additional weight in the council meetings. In December 1886 he successfully sought appointment of a physician to oversee public health. Glogowski also scrutinized the activities of Tampa's privately owned

scavenger service. Complaining about the scavengers' dereliction of duty, he proposed that the city purchase a team of horses and hire municipal employees to empty water closets.[24]

Glogowski faced other important issues during his first term. A fire that wiped out an entire city block shortly before he took office underscored Tampa's need for an effective firefighting organization and the importance of enforcing local fire codes. In the late summer of 1886 the town purchased a hand pumper and hundreds of feet of hose. The hose was run from the Hillsborough River, and six strong firemen worked the pump. To make proper use of the equipment, the Tampa Fire Company was created on August 30, 1886. Glogowski served as its treasurer. The mayor also helped to bring electric lighting to Tampa. With his approval and support the Tampa Electric Company, organized in January 1887, set up a small Westinghouse generator and two arc lights. One of the lights illuminated the Dry Goods Palace of Jewish merchant Abraham Maas.[25]

Records do not indicate whether Glogowski sought reelection in 1887. Following subsequent administrations he declined to serve consecutive terms as mayor in order to return full-time to his business and family.26 But in March 1888 he was back in the race, the unanimous choice of citizens to run against incumbent George B. Sparkman. Sparkman's deliberate absence from the city during a yellow fever epidemic the previous year likely contributed to his defeat. The Tampa Weekly Journal threw its support to Glogowski, "the best man for the job," and reminded voters of how he had "vigilantly enforced sanitary measures" while in office.[27]

The mayor's second term began much as his first had ended, with stern warnings to the council on the poor state of the city's health. Fear of disease complicated matters in the spring of 1888, as no taxes had been collected through much of the previous year and the treasury lay bare. During a March 16 council meeting, the treasurer reported a balance of $2.16 and $15,000 in debt. In an effort to improve sanitation conditions and to pay the salaries of city officers and police--many of whom refused to work unless paid in specie and not scrip--Glogowski called for a $6,000 loan. Councilmen authorized $1,000.[28]

Health and sanitation issues occupied a considerable portion of his official time, but they were not Glogowski's only concerns. The mayor was committed to business development and believed that city financial incentives could be used to persuade men to invest. In April 1888 J. A. Wood of New York approached Tampa officials, proposing to build a hotel for Henry Plant just across the Hillsborough River. The railroad magnate believed that the best way to advertise Tampa's charms was to construct a suitable resort. But Plant's plans came at a price. He wanted concessions concerning taxes and a bridge constructed at partial city expense to connect the foot of Lafayette Street with his new hotel. At Glogowski's urging the council agreed, and on July 26, 1888, the mayor laid the cornerstone of the Tampa Bay Hotel. It was a great moment both in the city's history and in Glogowski's career. The council declared a public holiday, and all stores closed so that Tampans could witness the event.[29]

Glogowski's decision to run for a third and fourth term as mayor in March 1890 and again in 1892 demonstrated considerable self-confidence. Demographically, Tampa had become a much-larger and far-more ethnically diverse city than in 1886. Many of the men whose support he needed were relatively new to the area and did not know first-hand of his earlier contributions. Of Tampa's 5,532 inhabitants in 1890 over half were immigrants and their children, the majority of whom came from Spain, Italy, and Cuba. Yet Glogowski kept up with these changes. He spoke a half-dozen languages, and his store attracted customers from every neighborhood. At his death in 1909 the Tampa Morning Tribune asserted that Glogowski was acquainted with more men and women than any other person in the city.[30]

Close ties with Tampa's business and ethnic communities translated into supportive relationships with their power brokers. The Tampa Journal, for example, continued to promote Glogowski at election time. In February 1890 the paper was "pleased to announce" that he would join the race for mayor, and the editors proclaimed that "we do not believe that it is possible for the people of Tampa to do better than to elect Mr. Glogowski." His election the following month brought similar praise. "The election of Herman Glogowski for mayor (third) term is indeed a high compliment to that gentleman, both as a citizen and official," the editor

declared, "and is strong evidence of his personal popularity with the people and their confidence in his ability and integrity as an official."[31]

Almost immediately after taking office in March 1890 Glogowski faced difficult issues. Several revealed his skill as a politician, the last marked one of his major political defeats. During the election campaign agitation erupted over a question relating to religion. Candidate J. H. Dorsey favored an ordinance to suppress liquor traffic and gambling on Sunday. He boldly proclaimed that, if he could not be elected on this position, he did not want the job. Glogowski took a different approach, saying nothing on the topic during the campaign. The strategy, designed to avoid alienating observant and nonobservant elements in his Christian constituency, paid off. Then, two weeks into his term, he expressed his feelings on the subject. In a letter to the council, Glogowski described "a very strong sentiment among the people against the desecration of the Sabbath." Keeping stores and saloons open on that day, he argued, violated state law and countered the "moral and social interests of the community." The mayor called on councilmen to pass a bill that would "properly regulate the matter." A few months later proponents of a Sunday closing law pushed an ordinance through council, and Glogowski vigorously upheld the new provision in Mayor's Court.[32]

The second major issue to confront the mayor in March 1890 imperiled the city's cigar industry. By mid-decade nearly 3,000 workers, receiving close to $2,000,000 a year in salaries, would produce about 88,000,000 cigars annually. Total sales for Tampa factories would exceed $5,000,000. But a proposed tariff bill, sponsored by future president William McKinley, threatened to impose a duty on imported tobacco. As Tampa relied on tobacco grown in Cuba, the city feared for its economic survival. To protect the industry and its workers, the Tampa Board of Trade, in cooperation with the city council, sent a committee to Washington to protest the bill. Glogowski joined the delegation and helped to win an exemption for tobacco in the McKinley proposal. The mayor's commitment to safeguarding the cigar industry won considerable favor with voters.[33]

Few times during Glogowski's career did the Tampa City Council override one of his vetoes. In May 1890 eight councilmen voted to overturn his efforts to protect Henry Plant's interests. The clash occurred when the mayor blocked attempts by a Plant competitor, the Florida Central and Peninsular Railway, to extend into Tampa. As the FC&P approached in April 1890, owner H. R. Duval requested a right-of-way in order to build into the city. By a slim majority, city council granted the lands. The mayor exercised a rare veto. He argued that council had granted the right-of-way over property not under its control and that the route proposed for the line was impractical. More importantly, the mayor contended that Tampa was so indebted to Henry Plant that it should not permit a rival enterprise to compete directly with his South Florida Railroad. The councilmen saw matters differently, and their views proved correct. Completion of the FC&P line into Tampa forced the Plant System to offer more-competitive freight and passenger rates. When the FC&P began running express trains between Tampa and Jacksonville, the South Florida Railway did the same.[34]

As Glogowski's fourth and final term neared an end in March 1893, he could look back on a number of recent improvements for the city. A new city hall was completed in August 1890 at a cost of $10,000. The new building housed the fire department and various municipal offices. In January 1891 Tampa received a long-awaited telephone system. For six years the Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Company had sought enough subscribers to open a local exchange. The company finally installed phones in November and December 1890 and began operations the following month. And in April 1892 work began on an electric street railway to challenge the steam-powered Tampa Street Railway Company, established in 1886. The plan called for the Consumers Electric Light & Power Company to sell residents electricity as well as transportation. Shortly after Glogowski left office, the line inaugurated service, and the two companies furiously competed for passengers.[35]

Four terms as mayor were enough for Glogowski, and in 1893 he returned to private life. Unfortunately, the records pertaining to his final years in Tampa are somewhat sketchy. For unknown reasons he left the clothing business in 1892 and began a new career as a bookkeeper

and cashier for various cigar companies. In 1901 he was with Ellinger Company in West Tampa. Two years later he moved to M. Stachelberg & Company, and in 1908 he switched to Carlos Fernandez & Company. In addition, between 1894 and 1896 he served as special deputy collector of customs for the Port of Tampa. The patronage appointment may have come in appreciation for Glogowski's active support for Grover Cleveland in the 1892 presidential election.[36]

Herman Glogowski's most lasting contribution to Tampa history after leaving the mayor's office affected the city's Jewish community. Until the early 1890s, the small number of Jewish residents in the area had precluded establishing a congregation or constructing a synagogue. Some talk on the matter had occurred in 1891 or 1892, but little activity resulted. An influx of Jews in the succeeding few years rekindled efforts. In 1894 M. Henry Cohen conducted New Year and Day of Atonement services in the old Masonic Temple. During one of his sermons he commented that the city's Jewish population had increased in members sufficient to warrant the organization of a congregation. He invited his fellow Jews to meet at his home on October 14 to discuss the matter. At the gathering they founded Congregation Schaarai Zedek (Gate of the Righteous) and elected temporary officers.[37]

The following Sunday evening Tampa Jewry gathered again--this time at Herman Glogowski's residence--in order to vote on a permanent board. Those assembled elected Glogowski as chairman. Schaarai Zedek's fifty members pledged a total of $870 to be used as a building fund, and within the next few weeks had rented space for a Sunday School. Fundraising efforts for the building moved slowly. In 1895 and 1896 the congregation purchased lots for the synagogue and for a cemetery, and finally in 1899 during Glogowski's term as president, construction began. Worshipful Master Glogowski laid Schaarai Zedek's cornerstone on August 16, 1899, and within two months Tampa's first synagogue had opened. Once a leader for the entire city, Herman Glogowski had turned his energies and skills to the direct benefit of his fellow Jews. His sudden death at age fifty-five cut short the life of man dedicated to the growth of Tampa and its ethnic communities.[38]

Herman Glogowski's career as Tampa mayor in the mid-1880s and early 1890s illustrates the importance of Jews in Florida history and adds to an understanding of the state's diverse ethnic population. As a city father, Glogowski played a vital role in guiding Tampa's development and creating the circumstance whereby Anglo, Spanish, Cuban, Italian, and Jewish immigrants could find economic opportunities and make a home in the area. In addition, the popularity among voters of a Jewish citizen for mayor calls into question the significance of antisemitism in late nineteenth-century America. The assertion that a "full-fledged antisemitic society" emerged after the Civil War and that "blatant antisemitism" characterized the 1880s does not correspond with the experiences of the numerous southern cities that elected Jewish mayors.[39]

Rather, evidence suggests a high level of acceptance of Jews, at least in the urban South. Social discrimination, which swept America late in the nineteenth century, touched southern states least of all.[40] The primacy of racial, not ethnic, distinctions in the region positioned Jews within dominant white culture and eased divisions between immigrant and native populations. The arrival of relatively small numbers of Jews early in the economic expansion of cities like Tampa also reduced resentments commonly found in northeastern urban centers where thousands of newcomers competed directly with the existing population for jobs, housing, and social status. Economic opportunity went a long way in suppressing latent hostilities toward Jews and permitted them a chance to succeed or fail based upon their merits. In postbellum Tampa, like many other New South cities, Herman Glogowski's merits carried him all the way to city hall.[41]

Notes

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1 Tampa Morning Tribune, December 4, 5, 1909.

2 Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 49; Savannah Morning News, April 17, 1886. For a discussion of late nineteenth-century urban boosterism see David R. Goldfield, Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers: Southern City and Region (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 118-32; and Don H. Doyle, New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 136-37. Naomi W. Cohen, Jews in Christian America: The Pursuit of Religious Equality (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), argues that American culture is steeped in Christianity but that Jews continuously have fought for a complete separation between church and state in an effort to achieve full legal and social equality with the Christian majority.

3 Doyle, New Men, New Cities, New South, 15; David J. Goldberg, "The Administration of Herman Myers as Mayor of Savannah, Georgia, 1895-1897 and 1899-1907" (master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1978), iii, 10, counted nineteen Jewish mayors in the South between 1880 and 1917. He also asserts that Herman Myers's success as a businessman and banker in the midst of a national economic depression was critical to his 1895 mayoral victory in Savannah.

4 Herman Glogowski to John T. Lesley, October 1, 1894, Records Relating to Customhouse Nominations, Tampa, entry 246, RG 56, National Archives, Washington, DC.

5 Ibid.; David S. Landes, "The Jewish Merchant: Typology and Stereotypology in Germany," Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook 19 (1974), 11-13; William Zvi Tannenbaum, "From Community to Citizenship: The Jews of Rural Franconia, 1801-1862" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1989), 4, 98; Steven M. Lowenstein, "Governmental Jewish Policies in Early Nineteenth Century Germany and Russia," Jewish Social Studies 46 (no. 3-4, 1984), 303-20; Jacob Katz, Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 16-21; James F. Harris, "Bavarians and Jews in Conflict in 1866: Neighbors and Enemies," Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook 32 (1987), 104-05; Hasia R. Diner, A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 14-15; Rudolf Glanz, "The Immigration of German Jews up to 1880," in YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science 2-3 (1947-1948), 85.

6 Chain migration is prominent in the experience of most if not all immigrant groups to America. See Harvey M. Choldin, "Kinship Networks in the Migration Process," International Migration Review 7 (Summer 1973), 163-75; Rudolf Glanz, "The German-Jewish Mass Emigration, 1820-1880," American Jewish Archives 22 (April 1970), 52; Nancy F. Schwartz and Stanley Lasky, "Jewish Cleveland before the Civil War," American Jewish History 82 (nos. 1-4, 1994), 98; Edward Matthew Shoemaker, "Strangers and Citizens: The Irish Immigrant Community of Savannah, 1837-1861" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1990), 45; and Patrizia Audenino, "The Paths of the Trade: Italian Stonemasons in the United States," International Migration Review 20 (no. 4, 1986), 779-95.

7 Telephone interview with Nat Grayson, Jr. (grandson of Herman Glogowski), Deltona, FL, by the author, May 23, 1995 (notes in the author's possession).

8 George W. Pettengill, Jr., The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903, bulletin 86 (Boston: Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, Inc., 1952), 33-35, 63-71; Gainesville Weekly Sun and Bee, December 16, 1880, January 6, 1881.

9 A large body of work discusses the roles and contributions of Jewish businessmen to southern economic life. See, for example, Lee M. Friedman, "The Problem of Nineteenth Century American Jewish Peddlers," Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society 44 (1954-1955), 1-7; Louis Schmier, "'For Him the 'Schwartzers' Couldn't Do Enough': A Jewish Peddler and His Black Customers Look at Each Other," American Jewish History 73 (September 1973), 39-55; Stephen J. Whitfield, "Commercial Passions: the Southern Jew as Businessman," American Jewish History 71 (March 1982), 342-57; Canter Brown, Jr., "Philip and Morris Dzialynski: Jewish Contributions to the Rebuilding of the South," American Jewish Archives 44 (Fall/Winter 1992), 517-39; and Elliot Ashkenazi, The Business of Jews in Louisiana, 1840-1875 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988).

10 Gainesville Weekly Sun and Bee, December 23, 1880; Gainesville Sun and Bee, June 9, 1881.

11 Deed Records, book N, 751-52, Official Records, Alachua County Courthouse, Gainesville, Florida; American Israelite, June 15, 1883; manuscript returns, Tenth Decennial United States Census, 1880, Alachua County, Florida (population schedule). Based upon the 1870 federal census, historian Ira Rosenwaike illustrates that in about one-third of Jewish marriages in Baltimore, Altanta, and Portland, Oregon, the husband was ten or more years older than his wife. See Ira Rosenwaike, "Characteristics of Baltimore's Jewish Population in a Nineteenth-Century Census," American Jewish History 82 (nos. 1-4, 1994), 137-38.

12 Jacob Rader Marcus, To Count a People: American Jewish Population Data, 1585-1984 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 44; Diner, Time for Gathering, 139. Canter Brown has documented a Jewish presence in 1860s through the 1880s Florida in Jacksonville, Madison, Palatka, Fort Meade, Orlando, Bartow, and Tampa. See Brown, "Philip and Morris Dzialynski," 517-33. See also Henry Alan Green and Marcia Kerstein Zerivitz, Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida (Coral Gables: Mosaic, Inc., 1991), 10-14.

13 James W. Covington, Plant's Palace: Henry B. Plant and the Tampa Bay Hotel (Louisville: Harmony House, 1990), 51-52; Karl H. Grismer, Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida, ed. D. B. McKay (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Printing Company, 1950), 170.

14 Covington, Plant's Palace, 53-54.

15 Tampa Journal, December 22, 1886, June 2, 1887, December 6, 1888, May 23, October 31, 1889, July 31, 1890; Webb's Tampa Business Directory, 1886, 545; Alachua County mortgage records, book 10, 34, Alachua County Courthouse.

16 David A. Gerber, "Cutting Out Shylock: Elite Anti-Semitism and the Quest for Moral Order in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Market Place," Journal of American History 69 (December 1982), 615-37; Diner, Time for Gathering, 77; Allan Tarshish, "The Economic Life of the American Jew in the Middle Nineteenth Century," in Essays in American Jewish History, ed. by Jacob R. Marcus (New York: KYAV, 1975), 263-93; Leonard Dinnerstein, Antisemitism in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 19-22.

17 A thirty-second degree Mason has attained the second-highest honor that the order can bestow on a member. Diner, Time for Gathering, 160-62; Tampa Morning Tribune, November 4, 1909; Tampa Guardian, March 24, 1886.

18 Grismer, Tampa, 181-83; Mormino and Pozzetta, Immigrant World of Ybor City, 55; I. J. Isaacs, comp., Tampa, Florida: Its Industries and Advantages (Tampa: Board of Trade, 1905), 3. Like Glogowski, Mayor Herman Myers of Savannah also devoted considerable energy in his first term to attracting new factories and workers. See Goldberg, "Administration of Herman Myers," 28-33.

19 A considerable body of work exists on the rise of businessmen to positions of municipal leadership in postbellum southern cities. See, for example, Doyle, New Men, New Cities, New South, 92-96, 99-110; James Michael Russell, Atlanta, 1847-1890: City Building in the Old South and the New (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 199-207; John H. Ellis, "Businessmen and Public Health in the Urban South during the Nineteenth Century: New Orleans, Memphis, and Atlanta," Bulletin of the History of Medicine 44 (1970), 197-212, 346-71; and Goldberg, "The Administration of Herman Myers."

20 Tampa Guardian, July 28, 1886.

21 Ibid., August 4, 1886; Minutes of the Tampa City Council, August 13, 1886, book 1, City of Tampa Archives, Tampa, Florida.

22 In June 1887 a new municipal charter, which Mayor Glogowski had helped to write, became effective. It charter incorporated the Towns of Tampa and North Tampa and established a government for the City of Tampa. Although the number of councilmen increased to account for the expanded territory and population, the mayor's responsibilities remained unchanged. See

Tampa Weekly Journal, June 16, 1887; and Mayor's Correspondence, fol. 1: Herman Glogowski, City of Tampa Archives. On the mayor addressing city council see Tampa Journal, March 15, 1888; Tampa Tribune, March 21, 1890; Tampa Daily Tribune, March 19, 1892.

23 Eirly Mair Barker, "Seasons of Pestilence: Tampa and Yellow Fever, 1823-1905" (master's thesis, University of South Florida, 1984), 48-49, 78; Grismer, Tampa, 184-86; Tampa Weekly Journal, May 26, 1887; and New York Times, October 8, 1887. For Glogowski's role as judge of the Mayor's Court, see August 1886 through July 1887, Mayor's Docket, Town of Tampa, 1884 to 1887, City of Tampa Archives.

24 Minutes of the Tampa City Council, December 2, 1886, May 16, 19, 1887, book 1. This was not the last time Mayor Glogowski suggested that Tampa run its own scavenger service. In June 1890 he calculated an annual savings of almost 50 percent if the city purchased equipment and hired men. See Mayor's Correspondence, June 24, 1890, fol. 1: Herman Glogowski.

25 Minutes of the Tampa City Council, September 1, 1886, book 1; Grismer, Tampa, 193-95.

26 In 1883 Herman and Bertha had started a family. They named their first son Walter. The next year came Nathan. Bernie was born in 1886, and a daughter Tillie arrived in 1891. See Tampa Tribune, December 4, 1909.

27 Tampa Weekly Journal, February 23, March 1, 1888.

28 Minutes of the Tampa City Council, March 16, 26, 1888, book 2; Tampa Weekly Journal, March 8, 15, 22, 1888; Tampa Daily Tribune, March 19, 1892.

29 Grismer, Tampa, 187-88; Covington, Plant's Palace, 58-59; Tampa Weekly Journal, April 28, 1888; Minutes of the Tampa City Council, August 23, 1888, book 1.

30 Nat Grayson, Jr., telephone interview, May 23, 1995; Tampa Morning Tribune, December 4, 1909.

31 Tampa Journal, February 13, March 6, 1890.

32 Tampa Tribune, February 28, 1890; Tampa Journal, March 20, May 22, 1890; Minutes of the Tampa City Council, March 19, 1890, book 2, Mayor's Correspondence, fol 1: Herman Glogowski. Glogowski was not the only Jewish mayor who realized the political benefits to supporting moral issues that appealed to Christian voters. In his bid for reelection in 1882, Jacksonville's Morris Dzialynski closed all of the city's saloons on Sunday, and Herman Myers of Savannah promised strict enforcement of Sabbath liquor laws in his bid for election in 1895. See Brown, "Philip and Morris Dzialynski," 531; and Goldberg, "Administration of Herman Myers," 9.

33 Tampa Tribune, March 28, 1890; Tampa Journal, March 27, 1890; Grismer, Tampa, 204-05; Minutes of the Tampa City Council, March 26, 1890, book 2.

34 Grismer, Tampa, 196-98; Tampa Journal, May 8, 1890.

35 Following Herman Glogowski's third term as mayor he was narrowly elected councilman-at-large, but a discrepancy in vote counting forced him to relinquish the seat in June 1891 to rival A. Ross. The following year Glogowski soundly defeated Ross for mayor by a vote of 436 to 234. Tampa Journal, March 12, June 11, 1891, Minutes of the Tampa City Council, June 5, 1891, book 2; James W. Covington and Debbie Lee Wavering, "The Mayors of Tampa: A Brief Administrative History," manuscript available at P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; Grismer, Tampa, 196, 198-99.

36 Sholes' Directory of the City of Tampa, 1901, 2 vols. (Tampa: A. E. Sholes), II, 231; The Tampa City Directory, 1903 (Tampa: R. L. Polk & Company, 1903), 391; R. L. Polk & Co.'s Tampa City Directory, 1908 (Tampa: R. L. Polk & Company, 1908), 290; Glogowski to Lesley, October 1, 1894; Daily Tampa Tribune, September 14, 1892.

37 Tampa Tribune, October 19, 1894; American Israelite, November 1, 1894; Congregation Schaarai Zedek, 1894-1994 (Tampa: Congregation Schaarai Zedek, 1994), 11.

38 Tampa Tribune, October 26, 1894; History of Congregation Schaarai Zedek, 12-13; American Israelite, August 31, 1899; 75 Years: Congregation Schaarai Zedek, Tampa, Florida, 1894-1969 (Tampa: priv. pub., 1969).

39 Dinnerstein, Antisemitism in America, 35, 42.

40 For a discussion of the relative lack of antisemitism in the South see Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Nativism, Bigotry, and Anti-Semitism in the South," American Jewish History 77 (March 1988), 437-51; and John Higham, "The Rise of Social Discrimination," in his Send These to Me: Immigrants in Urban America, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 141-47.

41 An emphasis on economic and social dislocation as a cause for nineteenth-century American antisemitism can be found in the works of John Higham, Richard Hofstadter, Carey McWilliams, and David Gerber. See John Higham, "Anti-Semitism in the Gilded Age: A Reinterpretation," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 43 (March 1957): 559-78; Higham, "Rise of Social Discrimination," 123-24; Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 80; Carey McWilliams, A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1948); and Gerber, "Cutting Out

Shylock," 617-19.